Statistics Canada Statistique Canada

Social and Economic Studies Division

Division des études sociales et économiques

Canada

89-03396/

E-627 E
C. 2.

INTERPROVINCIAL MIGRANTS AND THEIR LANGUAGE CHARACTERISTICS, 1976-1982

by

John de Vries

Co-published by Statistics Canada, Social and Economic Studies Division
and the Department of the Secretary of State,
Social Trends Analysis Directorate

Research Paper No. 18
Statistics Canada

Summer 1985

Any analysis presented in this paper is the responsibility of the author and does not necessarily represent any views or policies of Statistics Canada or the Department of the Secretary of State.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This paper is one of a series originally commissioned by the Department of the Secretary of State. The researcher responsible for initiating and administering the project was John Kralt of the Social Trends Analysis Directorate. The final revisions of the paper were prepared at Statistics Canada.

I am grateful for comments and suggestions made by John Kralt, Réjean Lachapelle and two anonymous reviewers. Obviously, any errors of presentation or interpretation are attributable to the author.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

List of tables

Executive summary 1

1. Introduction..... 5

2. Description of interprovincial migrants and their characteristics... 8

2.1. Total number of migrants..... 8

2.2. Province of origin and destination of migrants..... 11

2.3. Interprovincial migration flows..... 14

2.4. Interprovincial migrants by sex..... 14

2.5. Language characteristics of migrants: mother tongue..... 17

2.6. Additional language characteristics: home language..... 29

2.7. Educational characteristics of migrants..... 34

2.8. Various characteristics of migrants by province and mother tongue..... 37

2.8.1. Mother tongue by sex..... 37

2.8.2. Mother tongue by marital status..... 37

2.8.3. Mother tongue by education..... 40

2.9. Labour force status of migrants..... 46

3. Propensities to migrate..... 52

Appendix: Tables A-1 to A10..... 64

References..... 74

LIST OF TABLES

1. Summary table of interprovincial migration (total population)
2. Migration characteristics, total population
3. Province of origin (1976) by province of destination (1982) for interprovincial migrants
4. Migrant characteristics by sex and province
5. Mother tongue breakdown in the "accounting for migrants" tables.
6. Migrant characteristics by mother tongue and province
7. Characteristics of migrants by mother tongue, Quebec and the rest of Canada
8. Comparison of migration data from and to Quebec, for English and French mother tongue, 1971-1976 and 1976-1982.
9. Province of origin (1976) by province of destination (1982) for migrants of English mother tongue
10. Province of origin (1976) by province of destination (1982) for migrants of French mother tongue
11. Home language breakdown of categories in the "accounting for migrants" tables
12. Migrant characteristics by home language and province
13. Characteristics of interprovincial migrants, by level of education attained
14. Characteristics of English-mother-tongue interprovincial migrants, by province of origin and sex
15. Characteristics of French-mother-tongue interprovincial migrants, by province of origin and sex
16. Characteristics of English-mother-tongue interprovincial migrants, by province of origin and marital status
17. Characteristics of French-mother-tongue interprovincial migrants, by province of origin and marital status
18. Characteristics of English-mother-tongue interprovincial migrants by province of origin and highest level of education attained
19. Characteristics of French-mother-tongue interprovincial migrants by province of origin and highest level of education attained
20. Effects of interprovincial migration on Quebec's population, by level of education and mother tongue
21. Characteristics of interprovincial migrants by sex, current labour force status and province
22. Percentage unemployed by migration status, sex and province of origin
23. Percentage not in the labour force among females, by migration status and province of origin
24. Migrant characteristics by ability to speak English or French and province of origin
25. Propensity to move, by mother tongue, home language and official languages spoken, Quebec and the rest of Canada, 1976-1981
26. Percentage migrating, by province of origin and age-group in 1982
27. Percentage of migrants returning to province of origin, by province of origin and age-group in 1982

APPENDIX TABLES

A1. Accounting for interprovincial migrants: males
A2. Accounting for interprovincial migrants: females
A3. Accounting for interprovincial migrants: English mother tongue
A4. Accounting for interprovincial migrants: French mother tongue
A5. Accounting for interprovincial migrants: Other mother tongue
A6. Accounting for interprovincial migrants: English home language

A7. Accounting for interprovincial migrants: French home language
A8. Accounting for interprovincial migrants: Other home language
A9. Accounting for interprovincial migrants: persons with less than post-secondary education
A10. Accounting for interprovincial migrants: persons with at least some post-secondary education.

Executive Summary

This analysis is based on the August 1982 Current Population Profile, a supplementary survey to the Monthly Labour Force Survey. The focus of this supplementary survey was interprovincial migration since June 1, 1976. Individuals who were at least fifteen years of age in August 1982 were asked whether they had lived in any other province, territory or country for at least one month after June 1, 1976. For those who had, a sequence of questions was asked for every interprovincial or international move undertaken since June 1, 1976. For each move these questions allow us to establish the province or country of origin, the province of destination and the month in which the move took place. Up to 22 moves were reported.

The reported findings, though weighted to be representative of the total population in all Canadian provinces, are necessarily underestimates of the "real" interprovincial migration flows during this six-year period. Individuals who were not living in Canada in August 1982 were not included in the sample (these people might have moved between provinces before leaving the country). People who resided in Canada on June 1, 1976, but who died before August 1982 were, of course, excluded. Finally, those who had not yet reached their fifteenth birthday by August 1982 (dependent children who may have moved with one or more of their parents) were excluded from the sequence of migration questions.

The following is a summary of major findings of the study:

1. Of the respondents, inflated to represent population totals, approximately 1,300,000 persons had moved between Canadian provinces at least once during the 1976-1982 period. In addition, about 400,000 immigrants had settled in the country during this period and were still residing in Canada in August 1982.

2. Of the interprovincial migrants, somewhat over 400,000, or about one third, returned to the province in which they had been living on June 1,

1976. Thus, somewhat under 900,000 persons were living in a different province in August, 1982, than they had been on June 1, 1976.

3. Most of the interprovincial migrants came from Ontario, Quebec, Alberta and British Columbia, in that order, and settled primarily in Ontario, Alberta, British Columbia and Quebec. The province of Quebec showed a net loss of over 110,000 persons, as a consequence of interprovincial migrations, while Alberta gained about 150,000 and British Columbia gained almost 100,000.

4. Return migration was proportionately highest for Quebec and lowest for Alberta. Despite Alberta's low rate of return migration, the interprovincial population shifts, combined with the settlement of international immigrants, caused such a large population increase that a little over one fifth of its 1982 population had lived in another province or country six years earlier. Consequences for the demand on housing and social services are not hard to imagine.

5. Males were somewhat more prone to move interprovincially than were females; the chance of their returning to their province of origin was also somewhat larger. As a result, the net number of women who ended up in a different province exceeded the number of men just slightly. In some contrast, Ontario lost more males than females through interprovincial exchanges, while Alberta gained more males than females.

6. Among interprovincial migrants, persons of English mother tongue were overrepresented, while those of French mother tongue were underrepresented. The tendency for those of English mother tongue in Quebec to migrate was especially high: approximately 20% of the English mother tongue segment of Quebec's June 1976 population had moved interprovincially. Of these migrants, only 17% returned. In contrast, only 2.9% of Quebec's French mother tongue population migrated, of which almost two thirds returned. Outside Quebec, persons of French mother tongue were slightly more prone to move than those of English mother tongue and somewhat less likely to return to their province of origin.

7. The flow of French mother tongue migrants to Alberta had a remarkable consequence: the French mother tongue population of this province increased by about 47% in six years, as the result of internal migration.

8. The English-French contrast in migratory tendencies is sharpened when we consider home language rather than mother tongue: 8.7% of those with English home language migrated (of whom about 30% returned), compared with 3.5% of those of French home language (just a little over half of whom returned). English home language migration out of Quebec amounted to 21.4% (with only 18.6% of those migrants returning), while French home language migration out of Quebec was only 2.6% and of those migrants, about two thirds returned.

9. The redistributions in "home language minorities" were even more remarkable than those for mother tongue: Quebec's English home language population showed a net loss of about 95,000 (or almost one sixth of its 1976-size), Alberta's French home language population nearly doubled, due to the migration of persons of French home language to this province.

10. Persons with comparatively high levels of education were more likely to migrate than were those with less education. Most mobile were persons of English mother tongue with at least one university degree. Persons of French mother tongue were, in all educational categories, less likely to migrate than their English counterparts and more likely to return to their province of origin.

11. Propensities to migrate appeared to be a function of mother tongue or home language (higher for English, lower for French), "minority status" (higher for minorities - English in Quebec, French elsewhere - than for majorities), education (increasing tendencies to migrate with increasing levels of education) and sex (higher for males than for females). These effects appeared to be approximately cumulative. Thus, we find highest tendencies to migrate for the English (mother tongue or home language) group from Quebec, as well as for males and the highly educated. In

contrast, lowest tendencies are found for the French (mother tongue or home language) group from Quebec, for females and those with less education. Available data do not allow us to test whether this cumulation of effects extends beyond the joint operation of two factors. That is, the logical extension of the above would lead us to expect highest proportions migrating among highly educated English males from Quebec. Necessary data to test this out are not sufficiently reliable to be released.

1. Introduction

The following analysis is based on the August 1982, Current Population Profile, a supplementary survey to the Monthly Labour Force Survey. The particular focus of this supplementary survey was interprovincial migration during the June, 1976 to August, 1982 period. The frequencies reported here are based on weighted responses, where the weights correct for differences in sampling rates, variations in response rates and distortions in population characteristics, such as composition by age and sex.

The design of the Current Population Profile surveys, like that of the Monthly Labour Force surveys, excludes from the sample persons with the following characteristics:

(i) persons under 15 years of age;
(ii) residents of the Yukon and the Northwest Territories;
(iii) residents of Indian Reserves;
(iv) members of institutional households; and
(v) members of the non-civilian labour force.

Readers should thus keep in mind that the results from this survey are not strictly comparable with those derived from the 1981 Census of Population. In addition to the differences of coverage mentioned above, comparisons with Census data are affected by the following factors:

(i) the time spans are not identical; where the Census covers the period June 1, 1976 to June 3, 1981, the survey data cover the span of June 1, 1976 to August 1982; and

(ii) definitions of "migrant" are not identical. In the Current Population Profile survey, a migrant was defined as someone who had moved at least once during the period under study and had lived in another province, territory or country for at least one month. In the 1981 census, a migrant was defined as someone who, on June 3, 1981, lived in a different province, territory or country than where he or she lived on June

1, 1976. As such, CPP data identify "return migrants", i.e., those who did migrate during the analysis period, but who had returned to their province of origin by the end of the period. Such migrants are not identified as such in the Population Census.

Reported frequencies or percentages in this paper are subject to Statistics Canada's release policy for supplementary surveys. In short, population estimates fall into five categories:

1. estimated frequencies less than 4,000 may not be released. In the tables, such frequencies have been replaced by dashes;

2. estimated frequencies with coefficients of variation less than or equal to 16.5% are released without restrictions;

3. estimated frequencies with coefficients of variation between 16.5% and 25.0% fall into a category of "qualified release". In these cases, values are subject to high sampling variability. Exact numerical values should, therefore, be interpreted with caution. In the tables, these values are marked with an asterisk;

4. estimated frequencies with coefficients of variation between 25.0% and 33.3% (where such coefficients have been calculated with the aid of the exact variance calculations used in the Monthly Labour Force survey) are also released "conditionally". Readers should be aware of the fact that estimates of this kind have even larger sampling variability than the preceding two categories and must be interpreted with even greater caution. Values are identified in the tables with a cross; and

5. estimated frequencies with coefficients of variation greater than or equal to 33.3% cannot be released and have, therefore, also been replaced by dashes in the tables in this report.

This rest of report is divided into two parts. In the first part, I provide a description of the interprovincial migration flows and their characteristics; special attention will be paid to the language characteristics of the migrants. In the second part, migration will be considered in relation to the initial population or sub-population. That is, we will consider variations in "migration propensities". The major feature of such propensities is, of course, that they correct for differences in size among the population segments being compared. While this takes us away from the description of "numbers", it brings us a little closer to an understanding of the major migration phenomena.

2. Description of Interprovincial Migrants and their Characteristics

2.1 Total Number of Migrants

The available data enable us, with some difficulty, to reconstruct the approximate provincial populations in June 1976. In order to do so, I eliminated those who were at that time residents of the Yukon or the Northwest Territories. Recall that residents of the Territories were excluded from the Monthly Labour Force sampling frame. For that reason, the 1976 populations could not be estimated in any case. The population is only approximated for the following reasons:

(i) it only includes persons who had reached their ninth birthday by August 1976 (recall the sampling criteria for the Monthly Labour Force Survey);

(ii) it does not include persons who were resident in one of the provinces on June 1, 1976 but who died before August 1982; and

(iii) it also excludes persons who were resident in one of the provinces on June 1, 1976 but who emigrated before August 1982.

The basic data are summarized in Table 1, which requires some explanation. Due to the structure of the survey schedule, individuals who had not migrated during the period under study (i.e. who had not lived in another province, territory or country for at least a month during this period) were not asked the question regarding their province of residence on June 1, 1976. The pertinent information could be reconstructed by considering the province of residence in 1982. Column (1) of Table 1 gives the number of residents, by province, in August 1982 (that is, migrants as well as non-migrants). Column (2) indicates the number of persons who had not migrated; logically, they were living in the same province in June 1976 as in August 1982. Column (3) gives the number of "migrants" still living in Canada in August 1982, by province of residence in June, 1976. Adding the values of columns (2) and (3) gives us column (6), the reconstructed 1976 population.

TABLE 1. Summary table of interprovincial migration
(total population - all values in thousands)

Province	Population 1982 (1)	Non-migrants (2)	Total migrants (3)	Return migrants (4)	Out-migrants (5) =(3)-(4)	Reconstructed 1976 population (6) =(2)+(3)	Migrants into province (7) =(1)-(2)-(4)	International immigrants (8)	Interprovincial in-migrants (9) =(7)-(8)
Newfoundland	418	387	46	17	29	432	15	--	13
Prince Edward Island	92	81	12	4	7*	93	7	--	7
Nova Scotia	644	577	69	23	46	646	44	6	39
New Brunswick	531	480	58	19	39	583	32	4*	27
Quebec	4,945	4,743	260	102	158	5,003	100	54	46
Ontario	6,721	6,214	381	123	259	6,595	385	189	196
Manitoba	767	688	82	22	60	770	57	17	40
Saskatchewan	725	650	69	20	49	719	55	9*	46
Alberta	1,656	1,286	155	38*	117	1,441	332	60	272
British Columbia	2,113	1,815	130	43	87	1,944	255	74	182
Total	18,613	16,918	1,262	412	850	18,181	1.282	414	868

Notes: -- : estimated frequency less than 4,000
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0% (see Introduction)

N.B.: Column (9) includes persons who resided in the Northwest Territories in 1976, while column (5) does not.

In the same table, column (4) enumerates the number of migrants who had, by 1982, had returned to their 1976 province of residence (obtained by cross-classifying the residence in 1982 with that in 1976). Column (5), then, obtained by subtracting "return migrants" from "all migrants", gives the number of migrants who, in August 1982, were living in a <u>different</u> province from the one in which they resided in June 1976. Column (7) looks at interprovincial flows from the "other end" and gives the number of persons, by province of residence in 1982, whose residence in June 1976 was in another province, territory or country. By subtracting column (8), international immigrants (i.e. persons who were residing outside Canada in June 1976), we obtain the values in column (9), interprovincial migrants by province of destination.

This somewhat lengthy discussion was necessary because the format of this table recurs throughout this report. Moreover, the values thus obtained form the basis for several derived characteristics which will be discussed in the paper.

Table 1, then, tells us that, of the Canadian population at least 15 years of age in August 1982 (and, of course, subject to the residential restrictions of the Monthly Labour Force sampling frame), approximately 1,262,000 persons had made one or more interprovincial or international moves during the period between June 1976 and August 1982. For the population thus constrained, this represents 6.9% of the reconstructed population in June, 1976. Note that this value of 6.9% is an estimate of the "migration propensity rate", the accuracy of which is affected by the magnitude of three unknown quantities: (a) non-migrants who died between June 1976 and August 1982; (b) migrants who died between June 1976 and August 1982; and (c) emigrants. In the ratio 1,262,000: 18,181,000 (which yielded this percentage), the <u>numerator</u> is underestimating the true value by the sum of (b) plus (c), while the <u>denominator</u> underestimates the true value by the sum of (a) plus (b) plus (c). The total effect of these factors cannot be estimated, since it depends on the values of (a), (b) and (c).

Of these 1,262,000 migrants, about 412,000 returned to their provinces of origin in 1976. Obviously, these persons made at least two interprovincial

moves during this period. Relatively few persons made three or more moves. Return migrants, as Table 2 shows, made up 32.6% of all migrants, or almost one third of the total number of migrants (obtained by dividing column (4) in Table 1 by column (3)). The actual number of migrants who returned to their provinces of origin during these six years, is of course somewhat larger: among those counted as "out-migrants" in column (5) may be people who made at least three moves - from province A to province B, back to province A and then to province B or C. However, the number of such "super migrants" is quite small.

Of the total number of persons who migrated into a province from another province or country (column 7), about one third (414,000) were, in fact, residing outside the country in June, 1976. Thus, the number of interprovincial migrants amounted to only 868,000. Alert readers will spot the difference between columns (5) and (9) for the "total" row in Table 1 and might question my ability to perform basic arithmetic and/or to read a table. The discrepancy, of about 18,000 persons, consists of people who were living in the Yukon or the Northwest Territories on June 1, 1976.

2.2 Province of Origin and Destination of Migrants

Table 1 also gives the province of origin for migrants in column (3). The largest numbers of interprovincial migrants came from Ontario, Quebec, Alberta and British Columbia, in that order. Incidentally, this should not be surprising given the sizes of the corresponding provincial populations (which have approximately the same order). We will return to this in section 3 of this report.

Columns (3) and (4) of Table 1 tell us that some interprovincial variations may be observed. While the total number of migrants originating in Ontario was considerably larger than that from Quebec, the number of return migrants to these provinces was roughly equal in number. Obviously, migrants from Quebec were much more likely to return to their province of origin than were those from Ontario. The net effect is, of course, that the number of interprovincial outmigrants from Ontario was considerably larger than that from Quebec.

TABLE 2. Migration characteristics, total population

Province	Percentage of 1976 population migrating (1)	Percentage of migrants returning (2)	Net effect of inter-provincial flows (3)	Net internal migration rate (%) (4)
Newfoundland	10.6	36.3	-16	-3.7
Prince Edward Island	12.7	36.9	--	--
Nova Scotia	10.7	33.3	-8*	-1.2*
New Brunswick	10.9	33.1	-11	-2.1
Quebec	5.2	39.3	-112	-2.2
Ontario	5.8	32.2	-62	-0.9
Manitoba	10.7	27.2	-20	-2.6
Saskatchewan	9.6	28.9	--	--
Alberta	10.7	24.6	+156	+10.8
British Columbia	6.7	33.4	+95	+4.9
Total	6.9	32.6		

Notes: -- : estimated frequency less than 4,000, or estimated percentage based on numerator less than 4,000
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0% (see Introduction)

Net internal migration rate is based on reconstructed 1976 population.

When we look at provinces of destination in columns (7), (8) and (9), we see the largest total number of migrants going to Ontario, Alberta, British Columbia and Quebec, in that order. Obviously, Quebec was considerably less attractive as a province to migrate to than were the other three provinces. Ontario is clearly most attractive to international immigrants: it attracted almost half of them during this period. For international migrants, British Columbia and Alberta, too, were more popular destinations than Quebec.

For migrants from other provinces (column (9)), Alberta, Ontario and British Columbia were the most popular destinations, in that order. Evidently, Alberta was relatively more interesting to residents of other Canadian provinces than to immigrants settling in Canada.

The net impact of these interprovincial population shifts may be seen in column (3) of Table 2 (which is simply the difference between columns (9) and (5) of Table 1). The "winners" in the interprovincial migration game were obviously Alberta and British Columbia, the only two provinces with a positive net internal migration balance. In terms of numbers, the major "losers" were Quebec and Ontario. For the latter province, international immigration more than compensated for this loss (but keep in mind that we have no data on emigration from Canada during the same period). In contrast, even the contribution of international immigration did not produce a positive migration balance for Quebec.

A final comment on the data in Table 1 is in order. When we compare column (7), the total number of migrants into the province, with column (1), the population in August 1982, we can see impact of migration on the resulting population. Alberta and British Columbia, in particular, are worth noting. Just over 20% of Alberta's 1982 population of 1,656,000 had been living in another province, territory or country in June 1976; for British Columbia, the corresponding figure was about 12%. Such massive inflows of new residents (well exceeding the corresponding outflows to other provinces) may explain the pressures on housing stock and other social resources in these provinces.

2.3 Interprovincial Migration Flows

We can consider the magnitude of the overall flows from province to province in Table 3. Rows in the table give the outflows from province of residence in 1976, while columns give the inflows to province of residence in 1982. Return migrants are enumerated on the main diagonal of the table (underlined).

Inspection of Table 3 by rows (i.e. from province of origin) shows us that migrants from the Atlantic provinces have a slight preference for Ontario over Alberta. Migrants from Quebec moved overwhelmingly to Ontario (about 100,000) with considerably smaller streams going to Alberta and British Columbia. Migrants from Ontario moved in large proportions to Alberta and - to a lesser degree - British Columbia. The western provinces tended to send their migrants to Alberta as well, with British Columbia attracting a somewhat smaller stream.

A similar inspection by columns (i.e. immigrants to province of destination) shows that most migrants to each of the Atlantic provinces came from Ontario, with the remainder being mainly migrants from the other Atlantic provinces. Quebec got most of its in-migrants from Ontario (but the number - 31,000 - was much smaller than the counterflow from Quebec to Ontario). Similarly, more than half of Ontario's in-migrants came from Quebec. The western provinces, finally, show substantial inflows from Ontario, as well as a notable intra-regional movement. In terms of sheer magnitude, the noteworthy flows are those from Quebec to Ontario and from Ontario to Alberta, both over 100,000 persons and both considerably larger than the corresponding counterflows.

2.4 Interprovincial Migrants by Sex

In order to analyze migration flows by sex, Tables A1, A2 and 4 were constructed. The first two of these (which may be found in the Appendix) follow the format of Table 1, while the last one is analogous to Table 2.

TABLE 3. Province of origin (1976) by province of destination (1982) for interprovincial migrants (in thousands)

PROVINCE IN 1982

Province in 1976	Newfoundland	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Total
Newfoundland	17	--	--	--	--	13+		--	9*	--	46
Prince Edward Island	--	4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	12
Nova Scotia	--	--	23	6	--	17+	--	--	12*	6+	69
New Brunswick	--	--	7*	19	6+	10+	--	--	9+	--	58
Quebec	--	--	4*	6	102	100	--	--	29*	13*	260
Ontario	8	--	15	10	31*	123	14	11*	104	64	381
Manitoba	--	--	--	--	--	7+	22	9	25*	17*	82
Saskatchewan	--	--	--	--	--	--	7*	20	27	10*	69
Alberta	--	--	--	--	--	25*	9*	14	38*	61	155
British Columbia	--	--	--	--	--	16*	5*	8*	50	43	130
Total	30	11	60	47	147	318	61	65	304	219	1,262

Notes: -- : estimated frequency less than 4,000
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%
\+ : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 25.0% and 33.3%

TABLE 4. Migrant characteristics by sex and province

Province	Percentage of 1976 population migrating		Percentage of migrants returning		Net effect of interprovincial migration		Net internal migration rate (%)	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Newfoundland	11.3	9.9	40.1	31.9	-8	-8	-3.6	-3.8
Prince Edward Island	13.5	12.0	38.4	35.1	--	--	-2.5	+0.5
Nova Scotia	11.1	10.3	35.9	30.6	-5	--	-1.5	-0.9
New Brunswick	10.9	10.8	38.1	28.1	-5	-7	-1.8	-2.4
Quebec	5.2	5.2	41.9	36.8	-51	-62	-2.1	-2.4
Ontario	6.2	5.4	34.5	29.7	-39	-23	-1.2	-0.7
Manitoba	11.4	10.1	30.9	23.3	-12	-9	-3.1	-2.2
Saskatchewan	9.9	9.3	31.6	26.1	--	--	-0.4	-0.4
Alberta	11.1	10.3	27.3	21.8	+84	+71	+11.7	+9.9
British Columbia	7.1	6.2	36.9	29.5	+47	+47	+5.0	+4.8
Total	7.3	6.6	35.4	29.7	0	0	0	0

Notes: -- : estimated frequency between -4,000 and +4,000

Net internal migration rate is based on reconstructed 1976 population.

Quick comparisons between Tables A1 and A2 show that, in general, somewhat more males than females moved interprovincially (647,000 males and 615,000 females). However, more of the male migrants returned to their province of origin than did female migrants. As a result, the number of females whose province of destination differed from their province of origin was slightly larger than the corresponding number of males (432,000 women and 418,000 men).

These observations generally hold for each of the provinces, with a few exceptions. For New Brunswick and Quebec, more women than men moved interprovincially, though the differences were slight. The Quebec pattern becomes somewhat more pronounced if we only consider those who left the province, but had not returned by August 1982: this involves 74,000 males and 84,000 females. As a result of these factors, the impact of the interprovincial migration exchanges (the "net migration rate" in Table 4) was larger for Quebec women than for its men.

In some contrast to the Quebec pattern were the provinces of Ontario and Alberta. Ontario had approximately the same numbers of men and women leaving (130,000 and 128,000 out-migrants respectively), but more women than men entering from other provinces (91,000 men and 105,000 women). As a consequence, the net internal migration was 39,000 men and 23,000 women. Alberta attracted more male in-migrants than female in-migrants (142,000 versus 130,000) and an overall net in-migration of 84,000 men and 71,000 women. Overall then, the provincial patterns suggest a somewhat higher tendency for women to leave Quebec and New Brunswick, and to settle in Ontario, and a somewhat higher tendency for men to settle in Alberta. Other differences by gender are either too small to be noteworthy or are based on unreliable data and therefore not worth pursuing.

2.5 Language Characteristics of Migrants: Mother Tongue

Several tables were constructed to help us understand the linguistic characteristics of the interprovincial migration streams. These tabulations are based on the responses to question II in the supplementary survey: "What

is the language the respondent first learned in childhood and still understands?", to which respondents were asked to give all applicable responses (that is, persons with more than one mother tongue were asked to report all of the languages they learned first in childhood and still understood). Response categories "English" and "French" and "Other" made three single responses and four multiple responses possible (the four multiples were: English-French, English-Other, French-Other and English-French-Other. Theoretically, respondents could report several "other" languages and thus produce many additional multiple response categories, but no such answers were present in the data). In the total sample, 97.5% of the respondents gave a single response; of the remainder, virtually all fell in the categories "English-French" and "English-Other"; none of the multiple response categories produced sufficiently reliable frequencies to be analyzed. Thus, the following analyses are based only on the 97.5% of the respondents who reported only one mother tongue. Tables A3, A4 and A5 (in the Appendix) follow the same format as Table 1 and provide an account of interprovincial migrants by province and mother tongue (English, French and Other respectively); Tables 5 and 6 provide summary characteristics based on Tables A3 through A5, which allow us to make some initial comparisons.

When we consider the overall pattern in Table 5, we see that respondents of English mother tongue are overrepresented among the migrants. Their share of the 1976 population was 57.1% (recall that these figures need not be exactly equal to the data from the Population Census, given the constraints introduced by the sample design, the distortions introduced by mortality and emigration, and the allowance for multiple responses in the Current Population Profile survey). Table 5 shows that of the total migrants, 73.6% were of English mother tongue. For out-migrants (these are the people whose province of residence in 1982 differed from that in 1976), the percentage even increases to 76.5%. The English mother tongue was only under-represented among immigrants.

In contrast, the French mother tongue was underrepresented among all categories of migrants. Their population share ranged between 26.2% in 1976 and 25.7% in 1982, but they made up only 15.3% of all migrants. Within the

TABLE 5. Mother tongue breakdown in the "accounting for migrants" tables

	English	French	Other	Remainder	Total
1982 population	57.1	25.7	14.7	2.5	100.0
Non-migrants	56.3	27.0	14.3	2.4	100.0
Total migrants	73.6	15.3	8.4	2.7	100.0
Return migrants	66.9	21.9	7.7*	--	100.0
Out-migrants	76.8	12.1	8.8	2.3*	100.0
1976 population	57.7	26.2	13.9	2.2	100.0
In-migrants	64.6	10.1	22.9	2.4	100.0
International in-migrants	38.6	6.3*	52.7	--	100.0

Notes: -- : estimated frequency less than 4,000
* : frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%.

TABLE 6. Migrant characteristics by mother tongue and province

	Percentage of 1976 population migrating		Percentage of migrants returning		Net effect of interprovincial migration (in thousands)		Net internal migration rate	
Province	English	French	English	French	English	French	English	French
Newfoundland	10.2	--	38.2	--	-14	--	-3.2	--
Prince Edward Island	13.1*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Nova Scotia	10.9	--	34.1*	--	--	--	--	--
New Brunswick	10.8*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Quebec	20.4	2.9	--	62.8	-79	--	-14.7	--
Ontario	6.3	9.7*	34.3	--	-52	--	-1.1	--
Manitoba	12.5	--	26.3	--	-15*	--	-2.9*	--
Saskatchewan	11.4	--	28.5	--	--	--	--	--
Alberta	11.7	--	22.0*	--	+119	+19*	+10.9	+47.0*
British Columbia	7.1	--	33.9	--	+78	--	+5.2	--
Total	8.9	4.1	29.7	46.7	0	0	0	0

Notes: -- : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation over 25.0%
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%

category of "migrants", they were more likely than migrants of English mother tongue to return to their province of origin (note that the least pronounced underrepresentation is found for return migrants, of which 21.9% were of French mother tongue). Only 12.1% of persons who changed their province of residence were of French mother tongue.

The "Other" mother tongue category is, of course, a large component among international immigrants, of whom more than half had a mother tongue other than English or French. They were underrepresented among the interprovincial migrants, in particular among the "return migrants". In other words, they were less prone to migrate than were those of English mother tongue. Of the migrants, those of "Other" mother tongues appeared less likely to return to their province of origin than those of French mother tongue.

These introductory comments set the scene for the subsequent discussion of the linguistic characteristics of migrant flows. We have seen that persons of English mother tongue are overrepresented among the migrant streams, while those of French mother tongue were rather strongly underrepresented. We also noted that, among those who migrated, those of French mother tongue were much more likely to return to their province of origin than the other categories. We also saw that residents of Quebec were least likely to migrate and that Quebec migrants were more likely to return to their province of origin than migrants from other provinces. The obvious thought will be that we may have observed the same phenomenon from two perspectives: since the majority of Quebec's population is of French mother tongue, and since the majority of the French mother tongue population in Canada lives in Quebec, anything we state about either subject will apply to a large proportion of the other one. To sort out what is going on, we can ask two different questions:

(i) Is this a "Quebec" phenomenon, i.e., are residents of Quebec more likely to remain in that province and are those who have left more inclined to return to Quebec? or

(ii) Is this a "French mother tongue" phenomenon, i.e., are persons of French mother tongue less mobile and more prone to return to their province of origin than other Canadians?

Let us address question (i) first. If Quebec indeed exerted such a strong attraction on its residents, we might expect that this would affect persons regardless of mother tongue, and that migrants from Quebec would be underrepresented in all three of the language categories. A quick glance at the relative numbers in Table 6 tells us that this is not the case. The English mother tongue population of Quebec was highly mobile: one fifth of the 1976 population moved interprovincially at least once between 1976 and 1982! There were, as Tables A3 and A4 show, almost as many English migrants from Quebec as there were French ones (109,000 of English mother tongue, 117,000 of French mother tongue). While the data for those of "Other" mother tongue were not very reliable, it appears that they were less mobile than the English from Quebec, but more than the French. Other dissimilarities between the three segments quickly become evident: return migration is quite substantial for the French (almost two thirds of those who left after June 1976 had returned by August 1982), but much lower for the remainder. Recall from Table 2 that 39.3% of all migrants from Quebec had returned by August 1982. Since the percentage for the French was well above this figure, the percentage for the remainder must be well below it. (Estimates may not be released unfortunately, due to the low reliability of these values.) As a consequence, although well over half of Quebec's "out-migrants" to other Canadian provinces were of English mother tongue (90,000 out of 158,000), just over a quarter (43,000) were French.

If question (i) is obviously not verified by the data, what about question (ii)? Is it the case, perhaps, that for various reasons (culture, socioeconomic status or residence) persons of French mother tongue are less residentially mobile and more attached to their origins? In that case, we should find that migrants of French mother tongue were underrepresented, and that return migrants were overrepresented, regardless of province of residence. To simplify the method for answering this question, I calculated summary measures for the French and English mother tongue segments outside Quebec. (See Table 7.)

TABLE 7. Characteristics of migrants by mother tongue, Quebec and the rest of Canada.

	Percent of 1976 population migrating		Percent of migrants returning	
	English	French	English	French
Quebec	20.4	2.9	--	62.8
Rest of Canada	8.2	10.2	31.3	22.0

The same data may also be expressed in terms of majority and minority language groups:

TABLE 7A:

	Percentage	Percentage
Minority English	20.4	--
French	10.2	22.0
Majority English	8.2	31.3
French	2.9	62.8

Note: -- estimated value has a coefficient of variation larger than 25.0%.

It is clear that the French mother tongue population outside Quebec is slightly more mobile than the English population and less prone to return to the province of origin. Obviously, both hypotheses embedded in questions (i) and (ii) are not supported by the data. The "mother tongue" and "province" factors interact in such a way that the French mother tongue population of Quebec is much less mobile than the rest of the Canadian population, and much more likely to return to Quebec after a move to another Canadian province. In contrast, the English mother tongue population of Quebec is much more mobile and less likely to return. The data in Table 7 may be integrated when we realize that "English in Quebec" and "French outside Quebec" both represent a minority status. It appears, then, that mobility (measured here by the proportion migrating outside the province of origin and by the tendency not to return to that province) is a function of two factors: "minority status" and "English mother tongue".

It should be pointed out that these migration flows by mother tongue from and to Quebec are only a reinforcement of demographic trends already established in earlier years. While it is obvious that the analyses of Census data for 1971-1976 are not comparable with those based on this survey, it might be worthwhile to consider the findings summarized in Table 8. Several patterns become apparent. Immigration has declined considerably, for those of both English and French mother tongue (this holds even after we inflate the survey data to approach the 1976 Census data more closely). Interprovincial migration, both into and out of Quebec, seems not to have changed all that much, as the percentage at the bottom of the table suggest. In contrast, English mother tongue migration into the province appears to have declined considerably, while out-migration increased, but only marginally (Note: the 1971-1976 data cover a period of exactly five years, while the 1976-1982 data refer to a period of six years and two months.) The combined result is, however, a strongly increased net migration rate (the percentage increased from -7.7 to -14.7).

TABLE 8. Comparison of migration data from and to Quebec, for English and French mother tongue, periods 1971-1976 and 1976-1982

	English mother tongue		French mother tongue	
	1971-1976	1976-1982	1971-1976	1976-1982
Initial population	799	534	4,981	4,013
Final population	789	461	4,842	4,020
Interprovincial				
in-migrants	43	11	37	31
out-migrants	105	90	45	43
Immigrants	35	6	43	19
	Internal migration as a percentage			
in	5.4	2.1	0.7	0.8
out	13.1	16.9	0.9	1.1
net	-7.7	-14.7	-0.2	-0.3

Note : Data for 1971-1976 have been drawn from Table 3 in Malo, R. et al., "Estimations résiduelles de l'émigration internationale selon la langue maternelle, Québec, 1971-1976", Cahiers Québecois de démographie, 11, 1: 19-45 (avril 1982).

After this somewhat lengthy excursus into Quebec migration, let us consider the remaining migratory flows. Table A3 shows that there were large streams of English mother tongue migrants out of Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia. In the case of Ontario, this loss of almost 200,000 interprovincial migrants was not offset by the "secondary" counterflow of 146,000. Only because of the immigration of about 77,000 persons of English mother tongue did the data in this survey suggest a tiny positive migration residual (but recall that an unknown number of emigrants should still be subtracted). For the two Western provinces, the flows out of each province were more than offset by the flows into them. Thus, Alberta had a net gain of about 119,000 interprovincial migrants of English mother tongue and British Columbia about 79,000.

The migration pattern of French-speaking persons, summarized in Table A4, is quite different from that of English-speakers as has been pointed out by Lachapelle and Henripin (1980). Aside from the relatively slight effect of this migration on Quebec's French mother tongue population, the most noteworthy phenomenon was the rather massive influx into Alberta. As a result, Alberta's French mother tongue population increased by almost 50% between 1976 and 1982, by the addition of about 19,000 persons to the initial 41,000. From the point of view of "regional minorities", this phenomenon is worth considering. Of the approximately 60,000 persons of French mother tongue in Alberta in 1982 (recall that these are figures from the survey; the "true" population is somewhat higher), about 25,000 had arrived in the preceding six years. Thus, the demand for minority language rights may well have almost doubled during that period.

Can we say something more about these flows? Where did the English mother tongue out-migrants from Quebec settle? Where did Alberta's in-migrants originate? Recall that Table 3 gives the marginal distributions regardless of mother tongue. Tables 9 and 10 give the same origin-destination frequencies for those of English and French mother tongue respectively.

TABLE 9. Province of origin (1976) by province of destination (1982) for migrants of English mother tongue (in thousands)

Province in 1976	Province in 1982					
	Same as in 1976	Maritimes and Other	Quebec	Ontario	Alberta	British Columbia
Newfoundland	17	5*	--	11+	8*	--
Prince Edward Island	4	--	--	--	--	--
Nova Scotia	22	9	--	15+	12*	5+
New Brunswick	11	9*	--	6+	8+	--
Quebec	19	--	--	63	12*	7*
Ontario	104	31	9+	--	86	54
Manitoba	17	--	--	--	20*	12*
Saskatchewan	18	--	--	--	24	9*
Alberta	28	--	--	22*	--	53
British Columbia	37	--	--	14*	40	--

Notes: -- : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation larger than 33.3% or less than 4,000
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%
\+ : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 25.0% and 33.3%

TABLE 10. Province of origin (1976) by province of destination (1982) for migrants of French mother tongue (in thousands)

	Province in 1982			
Province in 1976	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Alberta
New Brunswick	7*	6+	--	--
Quebec	--	73	21	--
Ontario	--	21*	5+	6*

Notes: - : estimated frequency less than 4,000 or coefficient of variation larger than 33.3%
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25%
+ : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 25.0% and 33.3%.

The English mother tongue pattern, summarized in Table 9, provides us with very few surprises. We see that the main share of English mother tongue out-migrants from the Atlantic provinces went to Ontario and Alberta (to be expected, given the high proportions of English mother tongue in the populations of origin). A slight exception is shown by the out-migrants from New Brunswick Table 3 shows that Ontario received the largest number followed by Alberta, Nova Scotia and Quebec. Table 9 shows that Alberta and Ontario received the largest numbers of English mother tongue migrants from New Brunswick, while almost no persons of English mother tongue moved to Quebec. Obviously, then, French mother tongue out-migrants from New Brunswick went to Quebec (as can be seen in Table 10) rather than Alberta or Nova Scotia.

The English mother tongue migrants from Quebec went in large proportions to Ontario: of the overall flow of about 100,000 persons, 63,000 were of English mother tongue. In contrast, only 47% of the out-migrants from Quebec to the remaining provinces were of English mother tongue.

For the other provinces, English mother tongue migration patterns are again very similar to the total patterns discussed earlier. Alberta and British Columbia attracted the largest number of in-migrants, with Ontario a distant third. Disproportionately few interprovincial migrants of English

mother tongue went to Quebec, with Ontario being especially noteworthy: of the stream of migrants from Ontario to Quebec, only 27.3% were of English mother tongue.

For the interprovincial migrants of French mother tongue, Table 10 gives the only frequencies which may be released. There appears to be a "drift to Quebec", particularly from Ontario, among interprovincial migrants. In total, however, net migration appears to be close to 0 for Ontario-Quebec.

In summary, then, we have observed as our main points:

(1) The French mother tongue population of Quebec was considerably less mobile than the remainder of the population; in this group, interprovincial migrants were very likely to return to their province of origin;

(2) The remainder of Quebec's population had higher than average proportions migrating, with those of English mother tongue especially unlikely to return;

(3) French mother tongue residents of other provinces migrated in roughly the same proportions as did the English populations in these provinces, and were somewhat less likely to return;

(4) Quebec did attract French mother tongue migrants who lived in other provinces in 1976, but few migrants of English or "Other" mother tongues;

(5) Alberta and, to a lesser degree British Columbia, attracted substantial numbers of migrants in all mother tongue categories. In both provinces, such migration produced large proportional increases in the populations of French mother tongue; and

(6) English out-migrants from Quebec went mostly to Ontario.

2.6 Additional Language Characteristics: Home Language

We may be able to shed further light on the linguistic nature of these interprovincial migration flows by considering the data on "home language". Question 14 of the Current Population Profile survey asked "What language does the respondent speak most often at home?" and permitted respondents to mark more than one response category. Tables A5, A6 and A7 give the raw data for various migration categories (following the format of Table 1) for persons of English, French and "Other" home language respectively; Tables 11 and 12 summarize these characteristics for easy comparison.

TABLE 11. Home language breakdown of categories in the "accounting for migrants" tables.

	Home Language (percentages)				
	English	French	Other	Remainder	Total
1982 population	65.8	24.5	6.3	3.4	100.0
Non-migrants	65.0	25.9	5.8	3.3	100.0
Total migrants	82.7	12.4	2.6	2.3	100.0
Return migrants	75.7	19.6	2.2*	--	100.0
Out-migrants	86.1	8.9	2.8	2.2*	100.0
1976 population	66.2	25.0	5.5	3.3	100.0
In-migrants	73.6	7.7	14.9	3.8	100.0
International in-migrants	47.2	5.4*	40.1	--	100.0

Notes: -- : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation larger than 25.0%.
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%.

TABLE 12 . Migrant characteristics by home language and province

Province	Percentage of population migrating (1976 population)		Percentage of migrants returning		Net effect of interprovincial migration (in thousands)		Net internal migration rate	
	English	French	English	French	English	French	English	French
Newfoundland	10.5	--	36.7	--	-15	--	-3.6	--
Prince Edward Island	13.0*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Nova Scotia	11.0	--	33.7*	--	--	--	--	--
New Brunswick	11.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Quebec	21.4	2.6	18.6*	66.1*	-95	--	-15.6	--
Ontario	6.1	10.7*	33.4	--	-61	--	-1.1	--
Manitoba	11.4	--	26.8	--	-16	--	-2.5*	--
Saskatchewan	10.2	--	28.9	--	--	--	--	--
Alberta	11.1	--	25.5	--	+136	--	+10.4	+100.0
British Columbia	7.0	--	34.1	--	+89	--	+5.1	--
Total	8.7	3.5	29.9	51.7	0	0	0	0

Notes: -- : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation larger than 25.5%
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%

When we compare Tables 5 and 11, we can immediately notice some differences between the criteria "mother tongue" and "home language". Recall that "mother tongue" refers to the language(s) first learned in childhood and still understood, while "home language" refers to current language use. Obviously, the fact that a person still understands her or his mother tongue does not imply that this language is still spoken most often at home. We know that many Canadian language minorities undergo language shift, primarily to English. (For some empirical substantiation, see de Vries and Vallee, 1980 and Lachapelle and Henripin, 1980.). The "English home language" category is therefore composed of virtually all respondents of English mother tongue plus that share of the French and "Other" mother tongue segments which have shifted to the use of English at home. The "French home language" category is made up of those respondents of French mother tongue who have not shifted to English home language, plus those of English and "Other" mother tongue who have shifted to French home language. The "Other home language" category is that component of the "Other mother tongue" group which has not (yet) shifted to the use of English or French at home. Comparison of Tables 5 and 11 gives a first suggestion of the impact of these shifts: substantial gains for English in all categories and slight losses for French (but note the differences in the "out-migrants" and "in-migrants" categories, where the proportions reporting "French mother tongue" were noticeably larger than the corresponding ones for "French home language". Obviously, speaking French at home is even more strongly associated with low tendencies to be interprovincially mobile than is having French as mother tongue.). Finally, we see large losses for "Other" language groups.

Tables 6 and 12 allow us to get a better grasp on the effects described by the two measures of language characteristics, while comparisons based on the raw data may be made between Tables A3 through A5 and A6 through A8. Taking the "English" category first, we see that more migrants had English as home language than as mother tongue, obviously as a consequence of the shift of "Others" to the use of English in the home (just over a million English home language, about 930,000 English mother tongue). This relative difference (English home language exceeding English mother tongue by about 11%) holds through most of the provinces; in Quebec, the difference was somewhat larger

among the migrants. With regard to return migration, the English home language category again exceeded the English mother tongue category, by about 13 percent. This percentage difference again holds across almost all provinces. A somewhat odd exception is Quebec, where the number of return migrants of English home language was larger than the number of English mother tongue return migrants by about 26 percent. Nevertheless, the loss of 95,000 persons from Quebec's English home language population even exceeded the decline of the English mother tongue population (which amounted to about 79,000), causing a percentage loss of 15.6% over this six year period.

For the French categories, we get a somewhat different picture from these comparisons. We were already aware of the fact that there is some degree of language shift from French mother tongue to English home language, particularly outside Quebec. Comparison of the population values in Tables A4 and A7 suggests that the net loss due to language shift amounted to about 5% of the French mother tongue population. These losses however, are not equally strong in all provinces: in Quebec, the data suggest a slight gain of about 1.4%, in New Brunswick a loss of approximately 10% and in the rest of the country about 45 percent. In Quebec, therefore, "French home language" represents virtually all Quebecers of French mother tongue plus those who shifted from another mother tongue to the use of French. In the rest of the country, "French home language" represents essentially those individuals of French mother tongue who have not shifted to the use of English at home.

For Quebec, we find the number of French home language migrants to be somewhat smaller than that of French mother tongue migrants (106,000 compared with 117,000). Also, Table 12 shows that the migration rate is somewhat smaller for Quebecers of French home language (2.6%) than for those of French mother tongue (2.9%). Logical deduction then shows us that there is a positive association between the tendency to migrate and the use of English as home language by persons of French mother tongue who resided in Quebec in 1976. The data do not allow us to determine whether this shift to English home language occurred before or after migration. In a similar fashion, it can be shown that a language shift to English is negatively associated with the propensity of French mother tongue migrants from Quebec to return to their

province of origin: the number of French home language migrants returning to Quebec (70,000) was only a little smaller than the numbers of French mother tongue migrants so doing (73,000). This association between language shift and return migration does not occur for French home language migrants from other provinces: 11,000 such migrants (21.5% of the total) returned to their province of origin, compared with 22.0% (or 17,000) of the interprovincial migrants of French mother tongue.

The effect of this "French home language" migration was, as expected, quite strong in Alberta. We have already seen that the French mother tongue segment in that province increased by about 50 percent as a consequence of interprovincial migration. In comparison, the number of people speaking French most often at home nearly doubled, from 11,000 to 22,000, approximately. The explanation for this contrast is, of course, that the process of language shift had affected well over half of the Franco-Albertan population by 1976: there were about 41,000 persons of French mother tongue in Alberta in the "reconstructed 1976 population", but only about 11,000 of French home language. A much higher proportion of the in-migrants was (still) using French as the language of the home; as a result, language shift in Alberta appeared to be less pronounced in 1982 than in 1976.

To complete this section, let us look in somewhat greater detail at the flows from Quebec to Alberta and to Ontario. For the first, we are dealing with about 29,000 individuals, as follows:

Mother tongue		Home language	
English	12,000	English	13,000
French	13,000	French	12,000
Remainder	4,000	Remainder	4,000

Although both of these are marginal distributions, it is not likely that any shift to French home language took place among these migrants. Thus, only about 1,000 of the 13,000 migrants of French mother tongue would have shifted to English language use in the home. Such figures indicate comparatively low levels of language shift.

For the flow of migrants from Quebec to Ontario, we are dealing with about 100,000 individuals, whose language characteristics were as follows:

Mother tongue		Home language	
English	63,000	English	72,000
French	21,000	French	17,000
Other	14,000	Other	9,000

In this case, the discrepancy between the values for "French mother tongue" and "French home language" suggest that about 20 percent of these migrants having French as their mother tongue had shifted to English as their home language, a value well above that estimated for the migrants to Alberta and obviously far beyond that for Quebec's total French mother tongue population.

2.7 Educational Characteristics of Migrants

The educational attainment of interprovincial migrants was determined by a sequence of questions. The essential ones for this analysis are question 15: "Has the respondent (ever) attended a university, community college or other post-secondary institution as a full-time student?" and question 16: "What is the highest level of education completed?" It should be noted, incidentally, that question 16 was not asked if the respondent only attended a post-secondary institution as a part-time student.

While the responses to question 15 and 16 allow for a relatively detailed classification of educational attainment, such details yield rather low frequencies and, consequently, tables full of dashes. To reduce the prevalence of dashes, educational attainment was collapsed into two categories: "at least some post-secondary education", referring to persons who had attended some type of post-secondary educational institution full-time, and "less than post-secondary education", referring to those who did not attend such an institution as full-time students (but may have done so part-time). Tables A9 and A10 provide the usual "accounting for migrants" details, while Table 13 provides a summary of characteristics.

TABLE 13. Characteristics of interprovincial migrants, by level of education attained

Province in 1976	Percentage of migrants returning to province		Net effect of migration flows	
	Less than post-secondary	At least some post-secondary	Less than post-secondary	At least some post-secondary
Newfoundland	36	38*	-13	--
Prince Edward Island	--	--	--	--
Nova Scotia	28	41	--	--
New Brunswick	34	31	--	-7
Quebec	35	44	-38	-20
Ontario	31	33	+96	+29
Manitoba	24*	30*	--	--
Saskatchewan	24*	34*	--	--
Alberta	19*	30*	+115	+101
British Columbia	32*	34*	+94	+74

Notes: -- : estimated frequency is less than 4,000 or has a coefficient of variation larger than 25%
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%

Please observe that the "net effect" columns are not strictly comparable with corresponding columns in previous tables, since data on internaional migrants by education were not available.

For the category with the lowest level of educational attainment, we see large numbers leaving Ontario, Quebec and Alberta, and large numbers entering Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia (Table A9). The resulting net migration balances (somewhat distorted, because the data in Table 13 include immigrants, but do not include emigrants) show the drift westward with large positive values for Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario. (Recall, however, that much of Ontario's positive migration balance was due to international migration.)

For migrants with at least some post-secondary education, the move westward was even more pronounced (in relative terms, at least). Both Alberta and British Columbia showed relatively large net gains, while Ontario also showed a positive immigration balance, though considerably smaller than the other two provinces. Quebec showed a net loss of about 20,000 persons with post-secondary education, while the values for the remaining provinces were generally too small to be sufficiently reliable.

The left-hand panel of Table 13 shows the propensity to return, by broad educational category. For virtually all of the provinces, return migration is more likely for those with at least some post-secondary education than for migrants without any post-secondary attendance. Such figures are, of course, misleading: among the return migrants with some post-secondary attainment are obviously some young people who attended a post-secondary institution during the period 1976-1982 and who returned to their province of origin after having completed their course of study. While this phenomenon could not be pursued directly, the available data on return migration by age provide indirect support: percentages returning are highest for persons who in 1982 were between 20 and 24 years of age.

With regard to province of origin, we note the rather low proportion of Albertan migrants with less than post-secondary education who returned to their home province (only about 19 percent), as well as the relatively high proportions of return migrants among Quebecers and Nova Scotians with at least some post-secondary schooling.

2.8 Various Characteristics of Migrants by Province and Mother Tongue

We now consider jointly the various social and demographic characteristics of interprovincial migrants, by province of origin and mother tongue. Given the complexity of potential response patterns to the mother tongue question, and the rather low reliability of frequencies for small response categories, we are restricting ourselves to respondents of English and French mother tongue only.

2.8.1 Mother Tongue by Sex

We saw, in Section 2.4, that males predominate slightly in the interprovincial migration streams. Tables 14 and 15 show that this difference between the sexes holds after we control for mother tongue, with differences in the proportion migrating of 0.8 percent and 0.7 percent. The (slight) male excess among the migrants does not show up for all of the provinces, however: New Brunswick, Quebec and British Columbia had more female migrants than male migrants of English mother tongue, while Ontario had more female migrants than male migrants of French mother tongue. Overall, females of French mother tongue are least likely to migrate, while males of English mother tongue are most likely. Return migration is somewhat more pronounced for males than for females, regardless of mother tongue, and for French mother tongue than for English. Thus, highest tendencies to return migration are found among French mother tongue males, lowest among English mother tongue females. Especially high is the proportion returning among male, French mother tongue migrants from Quebec, of whom about two thirds had returned to their province of origin.

2.8.2 Mother Tongue by Marital Status

Common sense tells us that most interprovincial migrants are married, since the majority of any population 15 years old and over will generally also be married. Obviously, more detailed analyses should tell us whether married persons are migrating in proportions larger than their share of the popula-

TABLE 14. Characteristics of English-mother-tongue interprovincial migrants, by province of origin and sex

Province	Migrants from province (in thousands)	Return migrants (in thousands)	Percentage returning	Migrants from province (in thousands)	Return migrants (in thousands)	Percentage returning
Newfoundland	23	10	43	21	7	33
Prince Edward Island	6*	--	--	5*	--	--
Nova Scotia	33	12	37	32	10	31
New Brunswick	19	6	34	20	5	26
Quebec	51	8+	--	58	11	--
Ontario	159	58	36	143	45	32
Manitoba	32	10	31	32	7	22
Saskatchewan	31	10	31	31	8	26
Alberta	64	16	26	64	12	19
British Columbia	56	21	38	61	15	30
Total	473	154	32	456	122	27
Non-migrants	4,600			4,924		
Percentage migrating	9.3			8.5		

Notes: -- : estimated frequency is less than 4,000 or has a coefficient of variation larger than 33.3%
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%
\+ : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 25.0% and 33.3%.

TABLE 15. Characteristics of French-mother-tongue interprovincial migrants, by province of origin and sex

Province	Males			Females		
	Migrants from province (in thousands)	Return migrants (in thousands)	Percentage returning	Migrants from province (in thousands	Return migrants (in thousands	Percentage returning
New Brunswick	9*	4*	--	9*	--	--
Quebec	63	42	66	54	32	59
Ontario	18	--	--	20*	--	--
Canada	102	52	51	91	38	42
Non-migrants	2,221			2,344		
Percent migrating	4.4			3.7		

Notes: -- : estimated frequency is less than 4,000 or has a coefficient of variation larger than 33.3%
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%

For the remaining provinces, data were not reliable enough to be released.

tion. Consider Tables 16 and 17. We see, indeed, that the majority of the interprovincial migrants were married and that most of the remainder were single (i.e. never married), both for English and French mother tongue. However, when we take the sizes of the relative population groups into consideration, we find that single persons, regardless of mother tongue, are most likely to migrate, followed by married people. Least likely are those who are widowed, divorced or separated. The marginal patterns by mother tongue (English most prone to migrate, French least likely) hold up after controlling for marital status. Thus, single persons of English mother tongue are most likely to migrate, while widowed or divorced or separated persons of French mother tongue are least likely.

Return migration is highest for single persons, while there is little difference for the other two categories of marital status. Again, those of French mother tongue are more likely to return to their province of origin than are English mother tongue migrants: of the single migrants of French mother tongue, 58% returned; in contrast, only 25% of the married migrants of English mother tongue did so. Return migration is particularly high among single French mother tongue migrants from Quebec, of whom three quarters returned. This, again, is consistent with the possibility that, for this group, interprovincial migration and subsequent return migration are associated with attending an institution of post-secondary education.

2.8.3 Mother Tongue by Education

We saw in preceding sections that persons with higher levels of education are more likely to migrate interprovincially than are those with less education. As Tables 18 and 19 show, those differences are maintained when we control for mother tongue. Meanwhile, the higher mobility of the English mother tongue group is evident for all levels of education: for each level, the number of migrants of English mother tongue exceeds the comparable number of migrants of French mother tongue by a factor of three or more. Thus, the overwhelming majority of interprovincial migrants were of English mother tongue and, on the average, better educated than the non-migrating population. A large proportion of the migrants, of English as well as French mother tongue,

TABLE 16. Characteristics of English-mother-tongue interprovincial migrants, by province of origin and marital status

Province	Married or common-law			Single		
	Migrants from province (in thousands)	Return migrants (in thousands)	Percentage returning	Migrants from province (in thousands)	Return migrants (in thousands)	Percentage returning
Newfoundland	20	7	35	21	8	40
Prince Edward Island	6	--	--	5	--	--
Nova Scotia	36	11	31	26	9	37
New Brunswick	21	5	27	15	5	35
Quebec	60	8*	--	37	9*	--
Ontario	175	52	30	106	44	41
Manitoba	39	9	23	19	7	36
Saskatchewan	36	7	19	21	9	46
Alberta	78	16	20	40	11	27
British Columbia	60	17*	29*	39	17	44
Total	531	134	25	329	123	38
Non-migrants	5,833			2,643		
Percentage migrating	8.3			11.1		

Notes: -- : estimated frequency is less than 4,000 or has a coefficient of variation larger than 25%
* : estimated value has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%

N.B.: For "widowed/divorced/separated", there were 69,000 migrants of whom 18,000 returned. Percentage migrating: 6.2, percentage of migrants returning: 27.

TABLE 17. Characteristics of French-mother-tongue interprovincial migrants by province of origin and marital status

Province	Married or common-law			Single		
	Migrants from province (in thousands)	Return migrants (in thousands)	Percentage returning	Migrants from province (in thousands)	Return migrants (in thousands)	Percentage returning
New Brunswick	11*	--	--	7+	--	--
Quebec	63	35	56	46	35	75
Ontario	20	--	--	13*	--	--
Canada	107	43	41	72	42	58
Non-migrants	2,911			1,229		
Percentage migrating	3.5			5.5		

Notes: -- : estimated frequency is less than 4,000 or has a coefficient of variation larger than 33.3%
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%
+ : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 25.0% and 33.3%

For the remaining provinces, values were not reliable enough to be released.

N.B.: For "widowed/divorced/separated", there were 14,000 migrants, of whom 5,000 returned to their province of origin. Percentage migrating was 3.3, percentage of migrants returning was 36.

TABLE 18. Characteristics of English-mother-tongue interprovincial migrants by province of origin and highest level of education attained

Province	Secondary schooling or less		Some post-secondary schooling		Post-secondary certificate		University degree	
	Number of migrants (in thousands)	Percentage returning	Number of migrants (in thousands)	Percentage returning	Number of migrants (in thousands)	Percentage returning	Number of migrants (in thousands)	Percentage returning
Newfoundland	28	39	--	--	8	51	--	--
Prince Edward Island	7	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Nova Scotia	37	--	7	--	11	--	10	--
New Brunswick	17	--	5	--	9	--	8	--
Quebec	57	--	13	--	15	--	24	--
Ontario	157	34	41	43*	50	25*	54	38*
Manitoba	35	26	7	--	13	--	8	--
Saskatchewan	33	21	8	--	13	--	8	--
Alberta	71	--	16	--	26	--	14	--
British Columbia	57	35	20	--	17	--	14	--
Total	499	27	123	39	163	28	144	33
Non-migrants	6,849		846		1,003		826	
Percentage Migrating	7		13		14		15	

Notes: -- : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation larger than 25.5%.
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%.

TABLE 19. Characteristics of French-mother-tongue interprovincial migrants by province of origin and highest level of education attained

Province	Secondary schooling or less		Some post-secondary schooling		Post-secondary certificate		University degree	
	Number of migrants (in thousands)	Percentage returning	Number of migrants (in thousands)	Percentage returning	Number of migrants (in thousands)	Percentage returning	Number of migrants (in thousands)	Percentage returning
New Brunswick	12	42	--	--	--	--	--	--
Quebec	64	61	16	74	13	74	21	63
Ontario	22	--	--	--	7	--	6	--
Canada	113	43	22	59	26	45	31	51
Non-migrants	3,614		259		430		262	
Percent Migrating	3		8		6		11	

Notes: -- : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation larger than 25.5%.
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%.

had university degrees (16% in both groups, compared with 9 % for non-migrants of English mother tongue and 6% for those of French mother tongue.)

Return migration showed the by now familiar pattern: migrants of French mother tongue are more likely to return to their province of origin than are those of English mother tongue, in each educational category. Thus, over half the French mother tongue migrants with a university degree returned to their province of origin, with this proportion approaching two thirds for those from Quebec. Once again, out-migration has a noteworthy effect in the province of Quebec. The net effect of the various interprovincial migration flows was a rather substantial loss to the province of persons with at least some post-secondary education, because more of these persons left the province than were attracted from elsewhere. This loss of highly educated persons affected the English mother tongue group in particular, as may be seen in Table 20: the population with at least some post-secondary education declined by 25% from 42,000 to 31,000. Those with a post-secondary diploma or certificate went from 68,000 in 1976 to 61,000 in 1982 (a loss of about 10%), while the segment with at least one university degree went from 71,000 to 53,000, a loss of about 25%. The comparable populations of French mother tongue remained just about constant in number, with a percentage change of about 1%.

TABLE 20. Effects of interprovincial migration on Quebec's population, by level of education and mother tongue (in thousands)

	Some post-secondary schooling		Post-secondary certificate		University degree	
	English	French	English	French	English	French
1982 population	31	218	61	448	53	227
In-migrants	--	13*	8+	16*	6*	19
Out-migrants	13*	16	15*	13	24	21
Net migration	-10*	--	--	--	-18	--
1976 population	42	220	68	445	71	229

Notes: -- : estimated frequency is less than 4,000 or has a coefficient of variation larger than 33.3%
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%
+ : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 25.0% and 33.3%

2.9 Labour Force Status of Migrants

The data allow for an analysis of migration by current labour force status (that is, as of August 1982). While this information does not help us in assessing the circumstances under which persons decided to leave the province in which they resided in June 1976, we can at least try to establish whether those who migrated were better off in this respect than were non-migrants from the same originating province. Given that labour force participation patterns are different for males and females, the analysis had to involve six categories (the logical combination of two sexes with three categories of labour force status: employed, unemployed, not in the labour force). The relevant information from the six working tables (not included in this report) has been summarized in Table 21. Reading this table is somewhat complicated, since it involves province of residence on June 1, 1976 (i.e. province of origin) and labour force status in August 1982. Thus, we will not be able to state whether a particular migrant was employed, unemployed or not in the labour

TABLE 21. Characteristics of interprovincial migrants by sex, current labour force status and province

Males

Province	Percentage migrating			Percentage of migrants returning		
	Employed	Unemployed	Not in LF	Employed	Unemployed	Not in LF
Newfoundland	12.8	20.8*	--	26.6*	61.1	86.7
Prince Edward Island	13.9	--	--	--	--	--
Nova Scotia	12.1	22.8*	--	29.3	57.2*	--
New Brunswick	12.0	21.5	--	34.5	50.9*	--
Quebec	5.7	6.2*	3.5*	37.3	60.7*	48.0*
Ontario	6.2	11.3*	3.6*	31.2	53.4*	--
Manitoba	12.0	--	--	29.1	--	--
Saskatchewan	10.0	--	--	31.8	--	--
Alberta	10.4	24.1*	10.8*	29.2*	--	--
British Columbia	7.5	10.0*	4.7*	33.1	56.1*	--
Canada	7.5	11.7	4.5	32.1	49.6	38.8

Females

Province	Percentage migrating			Percentage of migrants returning		
	Employed	Unemployed	Not in LF	Employed	Unemployed	Not in LF
Newfoundland	13.0	--	6.4	--	--	36.5*
Nova Scotia	14.1	--	7.1	25.5*	--	40.4*
New Brunswick	14.6	23.3*	6.4	28.1	--	27.3*
Quebec	5.8	--	4.4	36.4*	--	36.7*
Ontario	5.6	11.6*	4.3	30.4	--	32.2*
Manitoba	10.5	--	8.4	24.8*	--	--
Saskatchewan	11.3	--	6.3	26.0*	--	--
Alberta	9.4	--	10.4	--	--	--
British Columbia	7.4	--	4.8*	27.6*	--	--
Canada	7.3	11.7	5.3	28.5	28.0*	31.9

Note: -- estimated value has a coefficient of variation larger than 25.0%.

force on June 1, 1976. To illustrate the meaning of the values in this table, let us look at the "percentage migrating" panel. We find for "males/employed/ Newfoundland" a value of 12.8%, which means that, of the males who lived in Newfoundland on June 1, 1976 and who were employed in August 1982, 12.8% had migrated during that period. In contrast, 20.8% of the ones now unemployed (August 1982) had migrated.

The right-hand panel gives the percentage of migrants, by current labour force status, who returned to their province of origin. For example, of the male migrants who moved from Newfoundland and who are currently employed, 61.1% had returned to that province by August 1982; of those men who were not in the labour force, 86.7% had returned. Can Table 21 answer the question, "Are interprovincial migrants better off than the non-migrating populations in their province of origin?" For migrants to be better off, we should expect the percentage employed among them to be at least as high as that of the non-migrating population. This information is not available in Table 21. We can find indirectly from Table 21 that a person was more likely to have migrated if he or she were unemployed in 1982 than if he or she were employed. A credible scenario could be that persons whose employment situation in 1976 was not favourable (or who were unemployed at that time) would have been more likely to make the decision to migrate than persons who had secure employment. Such migrants may have been successful in securing a job in their province of destination, but not so successful that the percentage employed among the migrants would equal that in the non-migrating population.

More direct evidence is given in Tables 22 and 23. Let us consider the data in Table 22 first. We see that, in each province, migrants had higher percentages unemployed than did the corresponding non-migrant populations, both for males and for females. The differences are especially large in the Atlantic provinces, but hold for all other provinces too. Therefore, it is fair to state that, in August 1982, migrants were more likely to be unemployed than were the corresponding non-migrant populations, but that the difference may well be associated with the labour force status of migrants and non-migrants in 1976, about which we have no information.

TABLE 22. Percentage unemployed by migration status, sex and province of origin

	Males		Females	
Province	Non-migrants	Migrants	Non-migrants	Migrants
Newfoundland	10	21*	6	15*
Prince Edward Island	6	--	5*	--
Nova Scotia	7	17*	6	--
New Brunswick	8	18*	6	13*
Quebec	11	13*	7	--
Ontario	7	14*	6	14*
Manitoba	6	--	4	--
Saskatchewan	4	--	3	--
Alberta	5	--	4*	--
British Columbia	10	14*	6	--
Canada	8	14	6	11

Notes: -- : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation larger than 25%

* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%

TABLE 23. Percentage not in the labour force among females, by migration status and province of origin

	Males	
Province	Non-migrants	Migrants
Newfoundland	58	36
Prince Edward Island	49	29*
Nova Scotia	54	36
New Brunswick	56	31
Quebec	53	44
Ontario	43	34
Manitoba	47	38
Saskatchewan	50	33
Alberta	43	43
British Columbia	48	36
Canada	48	38

Notes: * : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%

The data for females are considerably more difficult to assess. On the face of it, female unemployment is well below male unemployment, something which strikes us as unlikely. The explanation is that much larger proportions of the female population were not in the labour force and were therefore not exposed to the risk of being unemployed. Table 23 gives the proportions of women not in the labour force, by province. If we were to adjust the percentages unemployed among women for their much lower labour force participation rates, we would find unemployment ratios above those for men. Thus, we may consider a partition into the three labour force categories, giving us for the total female Canadian population:

	Non-migrants	Migrants
Unemployed	6	11
Not in labour force	48	38
Employed	46	51
Adjusted unemployment ratio	11	18

These figures tell us several stories. On the one hand, females who migrated appear to have higher labour force participation rates than those who did not migrate (the complement of the percentage not in the labour force). On the other hand, among the women in the labour force, unemployment appears to have been more common among migrants than among non-migrants (something we also noted for men). Finally, we note that unemployment, after adjustment, appears to have been higher for females than for males, regardless of migration status.

3. Propensities to migrate

The analyses of migration flows in Section 2 of this report were largely, though not entirely, cast in terms of numbers of migrants and their characteristics. I made the point that some of the descriptions of migration flows would have to be adjusted for the drastic differences in population size. There would, of course, be more migrants from Quebec than from Nova Scotia, given that Quebec's population is roughly eight times the size of Nova Scotia's. Many of the tables provided as background for the analyses in Section 2 already contain these migration propensities, dressed up as "percentage of population migrating". As I already pointed out in Section 2.1, such percentages are only estimates of the corresponding "true" migration propensities; whether the reported percentages are underestimates or overestimates of these true values cannot be stated. Section 3, then, follows a line of development similar to that of Section 2.

In Table 2 we see that, overall, 6.9% of the Canadian population (constrained, as we saw in Section 1, by age and residence in August 1982) made at least one interprovincial move between June 1976 and August 1982. There was, however, considerable variation between the provinces: residents of the Atlantic provinces were considerably more prone to migrate than those who lived in Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia. Quebec residents especially were far below the national average in their tendency to migrate. Of the overall group of migrants, close to one third returned to their provinces of origin; here, too, great differences between provinces could be observed. The lowest value was found for migrants from Alberta, of whom just under 25% returned. The maximum value was found for Quebec: of all persons who left the province after June 1, 1976, just over 39% had returned by August 1982. Despite this picture of Quebec as a province with a relatively immobile population and comparatively high proportions of its migrants returning, the province had one of the most negative net migration rates (after Newfoundland and Manitoba), since relatively few persons entered the province from other parts of the the country. Table 2 also shows the rather strong impact of internal migration on the two most westerly provinces: Alberta showed a positive net migration rate of almost 11%; in other words, the net increase in six

years, due to internal migration only, was almost 11%of its 1976 population. To a somewhat lesser degree, British Columbia was also the recipient of relatively large numbers of internal migrants.

Table 4 showed that the propensity to migrate was somewhat greater for males than for females: 7.3% of male and 6.6% of female respondents had migrated to another province at least once during the 1976-1982 period. This sex difference was observed for all the provinces, although the magnitudes differed more for Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, less for Quebec and New Brunswick. If we compare the male and female rank-orders, in terms of the respective provincial tendencies to migrate, New Brunswick, Manitoba and Newfoundland show some peculiarities. In New Brunswick, women were almost as prone to migrate as men and considerably less likely to return to their province of origin. In Manitoba and Newfoundland, however, male mobility exceeded female mobility by more than 1% and here, too, female return migration was well below the corresponding values for men.

Overall, return migration was higher for men than for women, at national values of 35.4% and 29.7% respectively. The excess male return migration, too, held in all of the provinces, again with some variation in the sex differences (ranging from a maximum of 10% for migrants from New Brunswick to a minimum of 3.3% for migrants from Prince Edward Island). For both sexes, the maximum propensity to return was found for migrants from Quebec, the lowest for those from Alberta. It is interesting to note the rather wide range in values already observed as a result of using one control variable: percentages of migrants returning ranged from a maximum of almost 42%, for males from Quebec, to a minimum of about 22% for females from Alberta.

Table 6 and the related discussions in Section 2, showed that, overall, the English mother tongue population had a higher tendency to migrate than the remainder of the population. For the total Canadian population, 8.9%of those with English mother tongue migrated, compared with just over 4% of those with French mother tongue. As we saw in Section 2.5, there was considerable variation in the propensity to migrate between provinces, with members of "linguistic minorities" more likely to migrate than members of the corresponding

majorities and less likely to return to their province of origin. At this point, no obvious theoretical explanation for this observation comes to mind.

The analysis of migration by home language, summarized in Table 12, showed that the likelihood of moving across provincial boundaries was even higher for Quebec residents of English home language than for those of English mother tongue, while the figures remained about the same for the other provinces. For Quebec residents of French home language, the propensity to migrate was even lower than it was for those of French mother tongue (though, at these low levels, differences are in the order of fractions of percentage points).

When we recall that "home language" pertains to the language spoken most often at the time of the survey, i.e., in August 1982, this comparison tells us something about the adaptive behaviour of migrants from Quebec: those of French mother tongue who moved out of the province were more likely to shift to the use of English at home than were those who did not migrate. Out-migrants were more likely to shift to the use of English than return migrants. Thus, Quebec's French home language migrants had even higher proportions returning than did Quebec's French mother tongue migrants (66.1%,compared with 62.8%).

Migration propensities may be calculated for the populations subdivided by their ability to speak the official languages, English and French. Because of the small frequencies involved, only the categories "both", "English only" and "French only" can be reported, and even those figures only for selected provinces. The data are given in Table 24. We see that, for the country as a whole the propensity to migrate is highest for those able to speak English only and much lower for those who can only speak French. However, we do note the expected contrast between Quebec and the other provinces. In Quebec, over 18% of those able to speak only English migrated out of the province; of these migrants, only 13% returned. For the remainder of the country, somewhat under 8% of persons speaking English only migrated out of their province of origin, of whom about one third returned. In contrast, of those Quebec residents who could only speak French, just over 1% moved out of the province; of these migrants, about three quarters returned. Here, as in the analysis of migra-

tion by home language, we should keep in mind that the data refer to the ability to speak English or French at the time of the survey. Thus, one possible explanation is that Quebec migrants of French mother tongue who learned to speak English were less likely to return than those who did not learn to speak English. Quebec's bilinguals had migration propensities somewhere midway between those of the "English only" and "French only", with almost half returning. For the rest of the country, bilinguals had somewhat higher tendencies to migrate than those able to speak English only.

TABLE 24. Migrant characteristics by ability to speak English or French and province of origin

	Percentage migrating			Percentage migrants returning		
Province	Both	English only	French only	Both	English only	French only
Newfoundland	--	10	--	--	36	--
Prince Edward Island	--	12	--	--	--	--
Nova Scotia	--	11	--	--	33*	--
New Brunswick	13*	10	--	--	--	--
Quebec	8	18	1*	45	13*	76
Ontario	10	5	--	25*	34	--
Manitoba	12*	11	--	--	25	--
Saskatchewan	--	10	--	--	28	--
Alberta	15*	10	--	--	25	--
British Columbia	17*	6	--	--	36	--
Total	9	8	1*	36	30	63

Notes: -- : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation greater than 25.0%
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%

Lachapelle has pointed out that the observed differences in the propensity to migrate between provinces, between persons of English and French mother tongue, and between persons of English and French home language, may well be a function of the way in which we define the territorial units. Since only one province (Quebec) has a majority of francophones, and nine provinces have a majority of anglophones, it will be a much less drastic change for anglophones to move to another province than it would be for francophones. It may well be that we're only picking up the phenomenon that members of both languages communities are not likely to move from regions where they form a majority to regions where they form a minority.

While the data in the August 1982 Current Population Profile do not lend themselves to an adequate analysis of this issue, we may resort to the 1981 Census of Population to obtain a more detailed view on the question: are anglophones more mobile than francophones? An unpublished table from the 1981 Census cross-classifies the population 5 years and over by province of residence in 1981, migration status, province of residence in 1976, mother tongue, home language and official languages spoken (Kralt, 1984, Table 4). Rather than using alternative regional groupings in the comparison of migration propensities for anglophones and francophones, we will turn the question around. In order to migrate at all, one obviously has to change dwelling unit. Thus we can get a handle on the differences in the propensity to migrate by comparing the propensities of respondents to have changed dwelling units between June, 1976 and June, 1981 (remember that the reference period for the 1981 Census is not identical with that for the August 1982 Current Population Profile; it is doubtful that the difference has a substantial impact on this analysis). Table 25 gives the proportions, by mother tongue, home language and official languages spoken, for residents of Quebec and the rest of the country.

A quick glance at the table reveals that, generally, the "English" categories are more likely to move than are the corresponding "French" categories. For the country as a whole, the English mother tongue segment is more mobile than the French mother tongue group. A similar contrast is observed for English and French home language. For the official language categories,

TABLE 25. Percentage of 1981 population 5 years and over, not living in the same dwelling unit as on June 1, 1976, by mother tongue, home language and official languages spoken, for Quebec and the rest of Canada

	Quebec	Rest of Canada	Total
Mother Tongue			
English	51.5	48.2	48.4
French	44.5	44.4	44.5
Other	43.2	38.3	39.0
Home Language			
English	51.4	47.4	47.6
French	44.4	41.3	44.1
Other	40.7	37.6	38.1
Official Language			
English	50.2	46.4	46.5
French	42.1	33.5	41.8
Both	49.6	49.6	49.6
Neither	37.5	37.2	37.3
Total Population	45.3	46.5	46.2

Source: Kralt, J., A Statistical Handbook for Official Languages Communities, Vol. 1 (Canada), (1984), Table 4.

bilinguals are more likely to have moved than English and French monolinguals. Virtually the same differences show up when we control for residence. Both in the province of Quebec and in the rest of the country, English language (as mother tongue, as home language and as official language spoken) is associated with above-average propensities to move (the only slight exception is formed by"English only" in the "Rest of Canada", which is approximately one-tenth of a percent lower than its marginal percentage).

Finally, we observe that the marginal propensity to move is slightly lower for Quebec residents than for those residing elsewhere in Canada. This marginal difference is, however, due to compositional effects: in each of the language categories in Table 25, Quebec residents are slightly more mobile than their counterparts in the other provinces (as a comparison within rows reveals). The marginal difference, then, is a composition effect caused by the fact that the majority of Quebec's population consisted of francophones, who tended to be less likely to move than corresponding groups of anglophones, as we already saw above.

In summary, I think it is safe to assert, on the basis of the data in Table 25, that Canadian francophones were generally less likely to change dwelling units, in the period 1976-1981, than were their anglophone counterparts. Data in other tables in this paper suggest that, among those who did move, francophones were less likely to move to another province than were anglophones.

When we consider the joint effects of mother tongue and sex, as in Tables 14 and 15, we see that the propensity to migrate is a function of sex as well as mother tongue, with males exceeding females by about 0.8%, and English mother tongue exeeding French mother tongue by almost 5%. We saw, in the raw data in Tables 14 and 15, that Quebec's English mother tongue migrants included more women than men, while the French mother tongue migrants included more men than women. Obviously, then, Quebec's English mother tongue women had the highest likelihood of migrating to another province, while French mother tongue women had the lowest likelihood.

Return migration, too, appeared to be affected jointly by mother tongue and sex, with males more likely to return than females (a difference of about 7%) and migrants of French mother tongue more likely to return than those of English mother tongue (a difference of about 17%). Thus, French mother tongue males were most likely to return to their province of origin, English mother tongue females least likely. Data in Table 15 show that return migration of French mother tongue migrants is even higher for Quebec residents (66% for males, 59% for females). For English migrants from Quebec, data are not reliable enough to report sex-specific proportions returning. For the remainder of the country, 35% of the English mother tongue males returned, against 25% of the females.

Marital status affected the probability of migration across provinces, with single (never married) persons having the highest probabilities, married persons somewhat lower, and those who were widowed, divorced or separated having the lowest propensity to migrate. These effects appeared to hold for the English mother tongue group as well as for the French, with a mother tongue "effect" of about 4.5% (note that the category "widowed, divorced or separated" could not be broken down by mother tongue). Thus, the most mobile were single persons of English mother tongue (11.1%), least mobile were married persons of French mother tongue (3.5%). Return migration showed a familiar pattern, too: we see higher tendencies to return for French than for English and for single than for married migrants. The joint operation of these factors shows a "mother tongue effect" of about 18 percent, a "marital status effect" of about 15%, without noticeable interaction effect. Thus, the most likely to return were French mother tongue migrants who in 1982 were still single and the least likely were English mother tongue migrants who in 1982 were married (note that we cannot state whether they were already married in 1976). Return migration was even higher for single French mother tongue migrants from Quebec, of whom 75% returned.

As Tables 18 and 19 showed, migration was strongly associated with the level of education attained, both for those of English mother tongue and those of French mother tongue. Within each of the educational categories, we see a "mother tongue effect" of about 4.5%, except for the category "post-secondary

diploma or certificate", where those of French mother tongue were notably less mobile than their English mother tongue counterparts, and, to a lesser degree, in the lower educational category, "some post-secondary schooling".

For return migration, we can observe the familiar mother tongue effect of about 18%, but no regular pattern by educational attainment. Note, finally, that the propensity to migrate among the French mother tongue population with university degrees exceeds 10 percent, a level not shown in any other breakdown of the French mother tongue populaion.

Finally, we should consider the relationship between age and propensity to migrate. The survey data provide groupings by age in August, 1982. Obviously, respondents were about six years younger in June 1976, which unfortunately does not allow for an easy matching with the data from the 1976 census. Tables 26 and 27 give the migration characteristics by age (in 1982) and province of origin. The propensities to migrate, in Table 26, show a curvilinear pattern, with the highest propensities shown by those who were between 20 and 24 years old in 1982, followed by those who were between 25 and 34 years of age. Values were lower for those under 20 years old or over 34 and declined with increasing age past 34.

TABLE 26. Percentage migrating, by province of origin and age-group in 1982

Province	17-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64
Newfoundland	16	26	13	6*	--	--
Prince Edward Island	--	32	17*	14*	--	--
Nova Scotia	15*	25	15	12	--	--
New Brunswick	12*	22	16	14	--	--
Quebec	6*	8	7	5	4*	3*
Ontario	6*	12	10	6	2*	--
Manitoba	11*	22	18	12	--	--
Saskatchewan	--	25	16	8*	--	--
Alberta	--	17	18	9*	7*	--
British Columbia	9*	12	12	6*	4*	--
Total	9	16	14	8	5	4

Notes: -- : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation greater than 25.0%
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%

TABLE 26. Percentage of migrants returning to province of origin, by province of origin and age-group in 1982

Province	17-19	20-24	25-34	35-44
Newfoundland	--	46	35*	--
Nova Scotia	--	37	37	--
New Brunswick	--	47	28	--
Quebec	50*	55	39	--
Ontario	44*	39	30	24*
Manitoba	--	40*	26*	--
Saskatchewan	--	35	24*	--
Alberta	--	--	29*	--
British Columbia	--	54	24*	--

Notes: -- : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation larger than 25.0%
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%

Data for other age-groups had estimated frequencies too unreliable to be reported.

When we compare by province of origin, we see that Quebecers had propensities to migrate well below the national average in each age-group. Ontario residents also showed values below the average, but somewhat higher than those for Quebec. In contrast, younger persons from the Atlantic provinces showed above average propensities to migrate, except those from Newfoundland who were 25 years and older.

Data on return migration by age are extremely incomplete as a consequence of the unreliable estimates. From the available values in Table 27 we see that, in general, return migration is highest for those 20-24 years old and declines with increasing age. Quebec migrants in all age-groups are more likely to return than those from other provinces.

TABLE A1 . Accounting for interprovincial migrants: males (all values in thousands)

Province	Population 1982 (1)	Non-migrants (2)	Total migrants (3)	Return migrants (4)	Out-migrants (5) =(3)-(4)	1976 population (6) =(2)+(3)	Migrants into province (7) =(1)-(2)-(4)	International immigrants (8)	Interprovincial in-migrants (9) =(7)-(8)
Newfoundland	211	194	25	10	15*	218	8	--	7*
Prince Edward Island	45	40	6*	--	--	46	--	--	--
Nova Scotia	312	280	35	13	23*	315	20	--	18
New Brunswick	261	235	29	11	18	264	15	--	13
Quebec	2,408	2,307	127	53	74	2,434	48	25*	23*
Ontario	3,277	3,030	199	69	130	3,229	178	86	91
Manitoba	373	333	43	13	29	376	27	9*	18
Saskatchewan	362	324	35	11	24	359	27	4+	23
Alberta	831	637	80	22*	58	716	173	31	142
British Columbia	1,037	886	68	25	43	954	126	36	90
Total	9,119	8,265	647	229	418	8,913	624	197	427

Notes: -- : estimated frequency is less than 4,000
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%
+ : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variaiton between 25.0% and 33.3%

TABLE A2 . Accounting for interprovincial migrants: females (all values in thousands)

Province	Population 1982 (1)	Non-migrants (2)	Total migrants (3)	Return migrants (4)	Out-migrants (5) =(3)-(4)	1976 population (6) =(2)+(3)	Migrants into province (7) =(1)-(2)-(4)	International immigrants (8)	Interprovincial in-migrants (9) =(7)-(8)
Newfoundland	207	193	21	7	14*	214	7*	--	6*
Prince Edward Island	47	41	6	--	--	46	4	--	--
Nova Scotia	332	297	34	10	24	331	25	--	21
New Brunswick	269	244	29	8	21	274	17	--	15
Quebec	2,536	2,437	132	49	84	2,569	50	29*	21*
Ontario	3,444	3,184	182	54	128	3,366	206	101	105
Manitoba	393	354	40	9	30	394	30	8*	22
Saskatchewan	363	326	33	9	25	360	28	5*	23
Alberta	825	649	75	16*	59	724	160	29	130
British Columbia	1,076	929	62	18	44	990	129	38	91
Total	9,492	8,654	615	183	432	9,269	655	218	438

Notes: -- : estimated frequency is less than 4,000
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%
+ : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 25.0% and 33.3%

TABLE A3 . Accounting for interprovincial migrants: English mother tongue (all value in thousands)

Province	Population 1982 (1)	Non-migrants (2)	Total migrants (3)	Return migrants (4)	Out-migrants (5) =(3)-(4)	1976 population (6) =(2)+(3)	Migrants into province (7) =(1)-(2)-(4)	International immigrants (8)	Interprovincial in-migrants (9) =(7)-(8)
Newfoundland	415	384	43	17	27	427	15	--	13
Prince Edward Island	86	75	11	4	7*	87	--	--	--
Nova Scotia	593	533	65	22	43	598	38*	--	34*
New Brunswick	351	317	38	11	27	355	22*	--	--
Quebec	461	425	109	19	90	534	--	--	--
Ontario	4,824	4,498	302	104	198	4,800	223	77	146
Manitoba	501	445	63	17	47	509	39	--	32
Saskatchewan	540	481	62	18	44	543	42	--	38
Alberta	1,234	962	127	28	99	1,089	244	26*	218
British Columbia	1,623	1,405	108	37	71	1,513	181	31*	150
Total	10,627	9,524	929	276	653	10,453	828	160	668

Notes: -- : estimated frequency is less than 4,000 or has a coefficient of variation larger than 25.0%
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%

TABLE A4 . Accounting for interprovincial migrants: French mother tongue
(all values in thousands)

Province	Population 1982 (1)	Non-migrants (2)	Total migrants (3)	Return migrants (4)	Out-migrants (5) =(3)-(4)	1976 population (6) =(2)+(3)	Migrants into province (7) =(1)-(2)-(4)	International immigrants (8)	Interprovincial in-migrants (9) =(7)-(8)
Newfoundland	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Prince Edward Island	5+	--	--	--	--	5+	--	--	--
Nova Scotia	34+	31*	--	--	--	34+	--	--	--
New Brunswick	165	149	18*	7*	11*	168	--	--	--
Quebec	4,020	3,897	117	73	43	4,013	50*	--	31*
Ontario	389	353	38	5+	33	391	31*	--	28*
Manitoba	45	40	5+	--	--	45	--	--	--
Saskatchewan	27	23	--	--	--	24	--	--	--
Alberta	60	35	6*	--	5+	41	25*	--	24*
British Columbia	38	30	5*	--	4+	35	--	--	--
Total	4,785	4,565	193	90	103	4,758	130	26	104

Notes: -- : estimated frequency is less than 4,000 or has a coefficient of variation larger than 33.3%
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%
\+ : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 25.0% and 33.3%

TABLE A5 . Accounting for interprovincial migrants: other mother tongue (all values in thousands)

Province	Population 1982 (1)	Non-migrants (2)	Total migrants (3)	Return migrants (4)	Out-migrants (5) =(3)-(4)	1976 population (6) =(2)+(3)	Migrants into province (7) =(1)-(2)-(4)	International immigrants (8)	Interprovincial in-migrants (9) =(7)-(8)
Quebec	359	324	27*	--	19*	351	27*	26*	--
Ontario	1,327	1,196	31	9+	22	1,227	122	104	--
Manitoba	195	177	11*	--	8+	188	14*	9*	--
Saskatchewan	127	117	--	--	--	120	9*	--	--
Alberta	307	248	16*	--	11*	264	55	31	24*
British Columbia	409	342	14*	5+	9*	357	62	41	21*
Canada	2,743	2,418	106	32	75	2,524	294	218	76

Notes: -- : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation larger than 33.3%
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%
+ : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 25.0% and 33.3%

N.B.: Estimated frequencies for other provinces were not reliable enough to be released.

TABLE A6 . Accounting for interprovincial migrants: English home language
(all values in thousands)

Province	Population 1982 (1)	Non-migrants (2)	Total migrants (3)	Return migrants (4)	Out-migrants (5) =(3)-(4)	1976 population (6) =(2)+(3)	Migrants into province (7) =(1)-(2)-(4)	International immigrants (8)	Interprovincial in-migrants (9) =(7)-(8)
Newfoundland	416	385	45	17	29	430	15	--	13
Prince Edward Island	89	78	12	4	7	89	--	--	--
Nova Scotia	615	550	68	23	45	618	42*	--	37*
New Brunswick	373	336	42	13	29	378	24*	--	21*
Quebec	519	477	130	24	106	606	--	--	--
Ontario	5,557	5,192	336	112	224	5,528	253	91	162
Manitoba	654	586	75	20	55	662	47	9*	39
Saskatchewan	661	594	67	19	48	661	48	--	44
Alberta	1,481	1,167	146	37*	109	1,313	277	32*	245
British Columbia	1,885	1,630	123	42	81	1,753	213	42*	170
Total	12,250	10,995	1,044	312	732	12,038	944	196	748

Notes: -- : estimated frequency is less than 4,000 or has a coefficient of variation larger than 25.0%
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%

TABLE A7. Accounting for interprovincial migrants: French home language (all values in thousands)

Province	Population 1982 (1)	Non-migrants (2)	Total migrants (3)	Return migrants (4)	Out-migrants (5) =(3)-(4)	1976 population (6) =(2)+(3)
New Brunswick	149	136	15*	6*	9+	151
Quebec	4,078	3,958	106	70	36*	4,064
Ontario	242	216	26	--	23	242
Canada	4,560	4,380	157	81	76	4,536

Notes: -- : estimated frequency is less than 4,000
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%
+ : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 25.0% and 33.3%

TABLE A8. Accounting for interprovincial migrants: Other home language (all values in thousands)

Province	Population 1982 (1)	Non-migrants (2)	Total migrants (3)	Return migrants (4)	Out-migrants (5) =(3)-(4)	1976 population (6) =(2)+(3)
Quebec	218	194	14+	--	11+	209
Ontario	612	516	10+	--	6+	527
Manitoba	59	51	--	--	--	53
Saskatchewan	26	21	--	--	--	21
Alberta	96	65	--	--	--	66
British Columbia	160	125	--	--	--	128
Canada	1,176	976	33	9	24	1,009

Notes: -- : estimated frequency is less than 4,000
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%
\+ : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 25.0% and 33.3%

TABLE A9. Accounting for migrants: persons with less than post-secondary education (all values in thousands)

Province	Population 1982 (1)	Migrants 1982 (2)	Non-migrants 1982 (3)	Total migrants leaving (4)	Return migrants (5)	Out-migrants (6) =(4)-(5)	1976 population (7) =(3)+(4)	Migration into province (8)
Newfoundland	314	19	296	30	11	20	326	7*
Prince Edward Island	70	6	64	7	--	7	71	6
Nova Scotia	476	36	440	40	11	29	480	25
New Brunswick	401	30	371	29	10	19	400	20
Quebec	3,786	106	3,680	144	51	93	3,824	55
Ontario	4,930	294	4,636	198	62	136	4,834	232
Manitoba	560	44	516	45	11*	34	561	33
Saskatchewan	526	39	487	37	9*	28	524	30
Alberta	1,103	203	900	88	17*	71	988	186
British Columbia	1,452	163	1,289	69	22*	47	1,358	141
Total	13,619	942	12,677	687	204	483	13,364	738

Notes: -- : estimated frequency is less than 4,000
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%

TABLE A10. Accounting for interprovincial migrants: persons with at least some post-secondary education. (All values in thousands)

Province	Population 1982 (1)	Migrants 1982 (2)	Non-migrants 1982 (3)	Total migrants leaving (4)	Return migrants (5)	Out-migrants (6) =(4)-(5)	1976 population (7) =(3)+(4)	Migration into province (8)
Newfoundland	104	13	91	16	6*	9	107	6*
Prince Edward Island	22	5	17	5	--	--	22	--
Nova Scotia	168	31	137	29	12	17	166	19
New Brunswick	130	22	109	29	9	20	138	13
Quebec	1,159	96	1,063	116	51	65	1,179	45
Ontario	1,791	213	1,578	183	61	123	1,762	152
Manitoba	207	35	172	37	11*	26	209	24
Saskatchewan	199	36	163	32	11*	21	194	25
Alberta	553	167	386	67	21*	45	453	146
British Columbia	661	136	526	61	21*	41	587	115
Total	4,994	752	4,242	575	205	370	4,817	547

Notes: -- : estimated frequency is less than 4,000
* : estimated frequency has a coefficient of variation between 16.5% and 25.0%

REFERENCES

Kralt, J.
1984 A statistical handbook for official languages communities. Ottawa: Department of the Secretary of State, Social Trends Analysis Directorate.

Lachapelle, R. and Henripin, J.
1980 La situation démolinguistique du Canada, évolution passée et prospective. Montréal: L'Institut de Recherches Politiques

Malo, R. et al.
1982 "Estimations résiduelles de l'émigration internationale selon la langue maternelle, Quebec 1971-1976", Cahiers québecois de démographie, 11: 19-45

de Vries, J. and Vallee, F.G.
1980 Language Use in Canada Ottawa: Statistics Canada

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES DIVISION
RESEARCH STUDIES SERIES

—

DIVISION DES ÉTUDES SOCIALES ET ÉCONOMIQUES
SÉRIES D'ÉTUDES DE RECHERCHE

No.

1. Transforming Monthly Uniform Crime Reports to Incident Records

   Transformation des données du programme de déclaration uniforme de la criminalité en fonction des données sur les cas
   Craig McKie, 1983

2. The Use of "Fixed Coefficient" Matrices to Relate Occupation and Field of Study to Manpower Requirement Models
   Garnett Picot, 1982

3. Inconsistencies in the Occupational Coding of the Same Individual in Two Surveys
   John Turner, 1983

4. Sizing Up the Burden of Unemployment in Canada
   Part I - A General Labour Market Perspective
   R. Paul Shaw, 1984

   A revised version of this paper has been published in Canadian Public Policy, Vol. XI, no. 2, June 1985, 143-160.

5. Sizing Up the Burden of Unemployment
   Part II - A Perspective on Financial Hardship
   R. Paul Shaw, 1984

6. La ruralité québécoise: Évolutions et perspectives
   Clermont Dugas, 1984

   Une autre version du présent exposé est déjà parue dans Cahiers de géographie du Québec, vol. 28, nos. 73-74, avril-septembre, 1984, 183-204.

7. Fiscal vs Traditional Market Variables in Intermetropolitan Migration in Canada 1956-1981
   R. Paul Shaw, 1984

8. Historical Statistics on Justice
   Paul Reed, 1984

9. Life Table Methodology
Canada and Provinces (1980-1982 cycle)

Méthode de calcul des tables de mortalité
Canada et provinces (cycle 1980-1982)
Dhruva Nagnur, 1984

10. Heterogeneity and Selection in Population Analysis

Hétérogénéité et effet de sélection dans l'analyse des populations
Nathan Keyfitz, 1984

11. The Industrial Mix of Employment: How and Why it Changes - A Review of the Past Three Decades
W. Garnett Picot, 1985

12. Analyse de la mobilité linguistique: indices, observations et modèles

Analysis of Language Mobility: Indexes, Observations and Models
Réjean Lachapelle, 1985

13. An Analysis of Expenditure Patterns of the Elderly: Cohorts - Going Through Life Together

Analyse des dépenses des personnes âgées: cohorte, âge et période
Louise Heslop, 1985

14. Note de recherche - La composition linguistique: réalité et perception

Research Note - Linguistic Composition: Perception and Reality
Réjean Lachapelle, 1985

15. Rectangularization of the Survival Curve and Entropy
The Canadian Experience

Rectangularization de la courbe de survie et entropie: la situation du Canada, 1921-1981
Dhruva Nagnur, 1985

16. Sizing up the Burden of Unemployment in Canada
Part III: Impact of Unemployment on Family Income

Le fardeau du chômage au Canada
Partie III: Incidence du chômage sur le revenu de la famille
Paul Shaw, 1985

17. The Spatial Organization of Language in Canada, 1981

Répartition géographique des groupes linguistiques au Canada, 1981

John de Vries, 1985

18. Interprovincial Migrants and their Language Characteristics, 1976-1982

Les migrants interprovinciaux et leurs caractéristiques linguistiques, 1976-1982

John de Vries, 1985